1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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for these *fiestas*, and in the realization of the anticipated day, the people experience that tension and release, that holding-on and then letting-go, which seems to be everywhere a need of human nature. For many weeks in advance of the carnival it is a chief subject of discussion, and long and elaborate plans are made for it. In the case of the religious festivals, the collection of the necessary money, the building of the fireworks tower, the training of the dancers, the making of the wax candles and the wax-flower decorations, the preparation of the festal dishes—all build up the tension which is to have such pleasurable release.

A distinction is sometimes made between ceremonial occasions which are characterized by restrictions on ordinary conduct and those which are characterized by unusual and pleasurable relaxations from usual restrictions: days of Saturnalia and days of taboo, holidays and holy days. In both cases satisfaction appears to be realized from the alternation of tension and release of tension. From this point of view it may perhaps be said that the calendric festivals of Tepoztlán are, with two exceptions, of the Saturnalia type. In the case of all the festivals celebrating *santos*, the day is on the whole one of pleasure, of wearing good clothes and eating good food, of dancing or watching religious dancing, of drink and of song; and this is even more obvious in the cases of the two most important secular *fiestas*—the carnival and the *Altepe-ilhuitl*. The important taboo days are those im-

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ported by the Spanish priests;[1] the last three days of Lent, when work is not done, water and wood are not hauled. (Here, as elsewhere, the taboos of the Lenten period are broken ceremonially by a lesser carnival, by getting drunk, and—historically characteristic—by eating meat *tamales*.) The vigils observed during the nights of All Saints' and All the Dead (October 31 and November 1) are also occasions of repression, of taboo, rather than of license. The nights are spent in praying, in calling aloud the names of the departed, in waiting, in apprehension of the nearness of the dead—in a repression of the impulses of play.[2] These are uncanny hours, like the last hours of Lent; and uncanniness is the very antithesis of Saturnalia.

All the other days of special observation are days of relaxation, and even the most important commemorative occasions of the church are, in large measure, play. Although the Tepoztecans customarily refer to their holidays in two categories—sacred and secular *fiestas*—the distinction they make is one between those holidays which celebrate a *santo* and those which do not. A great part of the *santo fiestas* is merely fun, and in the widest sense one of the two principal secular *fiestas* has a religious element. The carnival, on the

[1] The Aztecs had taboo days in their *nemontemi*, the five days that rounded out the calendrical year.

[2] It may be observed that among the lower middle class in Mexican cities—and elsewhere—the Day of the Dead is celebrated by taking food and drink to the graveyards and there enjoying a picnic. The final stage in this secularization and "saturnalization" of this ancient taboo day is to be found in modern Hallowe'en—a children's carnival.

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177 shows that the old terms are used in so far as they
601 agree with European categories, or are modified in meaning so as to conform with European grouping. The importance of the relationship between parents-in-law is reflected in the use of the Nahuatl word *huexi*, and also of the Spanish equivalent, *consuegros*, to denote this relationship.

764 The ritual of death includes two conspicuous features. One is the wake, a mildly orgiastic occasion
[786] probably more Catholic than Indian. Few pre-Columbian elements survive in the death customs. The paper sandals on the soles of the deceased, the watergourd and food placed with the body, are probably such feeble survivals.

764 The other is the sharp distinction between a child's
766 funeral and that of an adult. The former is, as the child is supposed to "become an angel immediately,"
[775] a theoretically happy occasion, and is accompanied with symbols of rejoicing. An adult is less certain of a place near the Divine Seat, and the funeral symbolism is somber. In Mexico City this distinction is exhibited chiefly in the color of the coffin—white for a child, black for an adult. In some Indian villages the rejoicing on the occasion of the death of a child is more copiously expressed than in Tepoztlán. In Xoxocotla, south of Tepoztlán, in Morelos, rockets are discharged at the funeral of a child, and in some Guerrero villages a dance is held.[1]

[1] Not personally verified. The statements in this sentence were made by informants.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the quality of inter-personal relations: 12

TEPOZTECANS are not an easy people to get to know; they are not an outgoing or expressive people. Most inter-personal relations are characterized by reserve, constriction, and carefully guarded behavior. Spontaneous or informal behavior is limited to the most intimate relationships and rarely occurs in public. Tepoztecans do not like to attract attention by word or deed, and self-control is learned early. In the presence of adults, children are expected to be unobtrusive.[1] In large public gatherings of adults and children, there is a minimum of noise. A family whose quarrels or boisterousness can be heard by passers-by soon earns a poor reputation.

In the street, most faces are somber and quiet; smiles, brief and appropriate; hearty laughter, rare. Women and girls are expected to walk with eyes downcast and those who smile freely may be suspected of being flippant and flirtatious. Adolescent girls, in particular, must have good facial control, for even a glance of interest may be taken as a sign of encouragement by some hopeful male. To smile unnecessarily at other people's infants is to be suspected of the evil eye, and most children do not learn to smile at strangers or visitors until they attend school.

Correct behavior is important at all times, at home, with friends, with relatives, and in public. Only in the case of old people and men who are drunk are deviations from customary reserve tolerated. Nevertheless, men recovering from drunkenness are apt to worry over having committed some improper act, such as behaving disrespectfully to a *compadre*. For this reason, men are careful about choosing drinking companions; individuals in a respect-relation, such as father and son, uncle and nephew, and *compadres*, must never drink together.

There are no fiestas in Tepoztlán which are openly bacchanalian in character, or in which women as well as men become drunk and promiscuous as in some other parts of Mexico. Even at the Carnaval, when Tepoztecans behave with relative freedom, the leading participants are disguised in masks and costumes, and whatever love-making takes place is done secretly.

[1] Only during the recreation hour in school do children make a great deal of noise and play wildly. The play pattern in school is in sharp contrast with that at home and is clearly out of keeping with the older culture pattern.